Current Social Domination Theory: Is It Still Relevant?

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Info Article	ABSTRACT
	Social dominance theory (SDT) often used to explain intergroups conflict and discrimination phenomenon. SDT argues that society lives in a social system where hierarchy of social groups exist. In such conditions, violence, and pressure on one group is a manifestation of the dominant group maintaining its status over the subordinate group. At the beginning of its emergence, SDT received quite a lot of criticism for its theoretical premises. However, in recent years there has been no literature that attempted to re-examine or criticize SDT in current condition. Meanwhile, SDT researchers have developed many studies to address theoretical weaknesses, especially in the last 10 years. This study aims to review and provide critics of SDT referring to the current development and condition of SDT. The research method used in this study is a literature review on the development of SDT. The results showed that to date SDT still has several unsolved weaknesses despite the massive development of its research, including the inconsistency of claims to the universality of social hierarchy, inconsistency on SDO constructs, lack of empirical evidence on social stratification groupings, and weaknesses in the SDT research methodology. However, SDT still has strength and potential that makes it survive and relevant in social scientific studies, especially on how it looks at intergroup conflict in terms of social hierarchy, social dominance, and power.

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BACKGROUND

Discussions on intergroup behavior, especially on intergroup conflict, prejudice, and group oppression are still widely discussed by social psychology researchers since many cases involving inequalities between groups kept occurring at the individual level to the systemic level. For example, the case of the death of George Floyd, a black US citizen who died as a result of excessive actions by US white police officers (Wirawan, 2020). Another similar case occurred in Surabaya, namely the arrest of 43 Papuan students on charges of destroying Indonesian flag and refusing to arrest. However, this arrest was followed by violence, as well as racist sentences being thrown at the students (BBC News Indonesia, 2019). The above cases received a strong reaction from public who thought the behavior was based on racism (BBC News Indonesia, 2019; Wirawan, 2020). This condition shows that prejudice and oppression of groups that are considered subordinate is still happening in Indonesia and other countries, although there is a perception that the world has improved in reducing oppression and segregation of groups, races, and religions (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

In social psychology, there are several theories that explain intergroup behavior including the above phenomenon, such as social identity theory (SIT), social dominance theory (SDT), and self-categorization theory (SCT). Those theories are relevant in explaining group-based social system, and more specifically, can explain intergroup conflicts, discrimination, and social inequality. While SIT and SCT focus on explaining that individual's attitude towards intergroup discrimination is highly dependent on their group's position in the social hierarchy and what can benefit their group (Schmitt et al., 2003), SDT has a different view. SDT argues that individuals are not always trying to elevate their group and lower other groups. There are times when individuals rather elevate other groups and lower their own groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). This view on intergroup conflict makes SDT interesting to be explore more deeply. In addition, SDT is a theory that seeks to explain intergroup behavior through multilevel analysis (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012), thereby adding to the uniqueness and attractiveness of SDT. Therefore, this review will specifically discuss the social dominance theory.

SDT developed by Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto in the 1990s. It argues that there are systematic conditions in society that cause intergroup inequality phenomenon. SDT reveals that people live in a group-based social hierarchy system that consist of dominant groups and subordinate groups, which both groups have power inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). The dynamics of behavior and social organization that exist in society, ranging from the existence of prejudice, intergroup oppresion and discrimination, to ideologies that legitimize social inequality will form and maintain this group-based social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). This argument may explain why and how black people who are considered subordinate are always depressed. Or why the Javanese ethnic considered a dominant group, while the Papuan ethnic is considered subordinate.

The attractiveness of SDT then encourages researchers to discuss this theory more deeply, resulting in produce of various literatures, both pro and contra towards SDT. In 2003, The British Journal of Social Psychology published a special issue that facilitated the 'arguments war' about SDT. In this journal edition, which then be followed by several critical review articles of SDT in subsequent years, SDT received

quite a number of essential criticisms, especially on its theoretical concepts (Romm, 2013; Rubin & Hewstone, 2004; Turner & Reynolds, 2003), as well as attempt to compare SDT with other theories (Schmitt et al., 2003).

Criticism was also aimed to social dominance orientation (SDO) (Schmitt et al., 2003), that is a tendency of individuals to support and maintain group inequality, a psychological construct built on social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Meanwhile, Romm (2013) and Tunçgenç (2010) focused on criticizing the theoretical logic and evolutionary rationale used in SDT. From those various reviews, it can be concluded that SDT still has low explanation power in several aspects. Such as the inadequate explanation of how the group-based hierarchy was originally formed, no explanation of social change, the incompatibility of evolutionary ideas in explaining SDT, and inconsistencies in the SDO construct as well as claims of universality in SDT (Rubin & Hewstone, 2004; Tunçgenç, 2010; Turner & Reynolds, 2003).

Although previous researchers have expressed some criticisms towards SDT, but in recent years there has been no literature that attempt to re-evaluate and criticize SDT in its current state of theory development. It is considering that the last criticism on SDT was delivered 20 and 10 years ago. Meanwhile, SDT researchers have been continued to develop this theory to answer its existing weaknesses and provide more empirical support to strengthens this theory (e.g. Pratto et al., 2013). Even in the last 10 years, SDT has been broaden to explain phenomenon in political realm (e.g. Kugler et al., 2014); persuasive communication studies (Hoyt et al., 2018), and organizational behavior (Soylu & Sheehy-Skeffington, 2015).

As SDT studies continue to develop, it seems necessary to re-examine this theory considering the latest developmental conditions for SDT. It is inevitable as SDT research continues to be developed, the dynamics of current theory may not be the same compared to 20 years ago. Re-examine SDT will give us latest view on whether this theory is developing in a better direction. Whether it has been able to overcome all the weaknesses highlighted in the previous studies. Or in contrary, whether SDT still have many shortcomings that have not been resolved until now.

In addition, the previous critical reviews mostly focused on certain aspects of the theory. There is no literature review that pursue to outline the weaknesses (and strengths) of SDT more thoroughly.

In this article, we attempt to summarize any criticisms that have been directed towards SDT, especially regarding the conceptual and methodological issues of the theory that have been widely discussed by researchers. This will give a more comprehensive picture of the strengths and weaknesses of SDT. In addition, this review discusses the theoretical and practical developments that have been experienced by SDT, especially in the last 10 years. We also discuss whether the latest developments of SDT have been able to answer previous criticisms and what gaps remain unanswered that become existing weaknesses of SDT. Finally, this review will discuss the strength and potential of SDT, what made this theory survive and whether SDT is still relevant in current reality.

This review is expected to be able to describe how the current SDT explanation power, as well as what are its weaknesses and strengths. By knowing the current strengths and weaknesses of SDT, it can be a guide for researchers on what to focus for future research, and a guide to consider what phenomenon are most suitable to be explained by SDT.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a literature review on social dominance theory. In conducting this literature review, first computer search on social dominance theory literature was conducted using online search engines such as Google Scholar and ScienceDirect with keywords including *"social dominance theory"*, *"social dominance orientation"*, *"critics on social dominance theory"*, *"critics on social dominance orientation"*, "teori dominasi sosial", "kritik terhadap teori dominasi sosial", and "orientasi dominasi sosial".

The results of literature search were then mapped to select which articles were compatible with this literature review objectives. The mapping resulted in several categories of article, including 1) critical articles on SDT or contra articles (table 1, articles number 1-6), 2) articles on theory development and empirical evidence of SDT / pro articles (table 1, articles number 7-12), and 3) articles on the development of SDT's applications in various domains of social phenomena (table 1, articles 13-21). The literature search was focused on articles published in 2010-2021 but did not rule out the possibility of articles outside those years to be included in our data. This was considering that some of the early critical literatures on SDT were published before that period. For articles that were included in the third category (the development of SDT's applications in various domains of social phenomena), we only took several samples that represent various domains that the latest SDT was applied.

The scientific articles used in this literature review are as follows:

Table 1. Social Domination Theory Scientific Articles Data

No.	Researchers	Year	Journal
1.	Turner, J.C. & Reynolds K.J.	2003	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 42, Issue 2, Page 199-206
2.	Schmitt, M.T., dkk.	2003	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 42, Issue 2, Page 161-186
3.	Wilson, M.S. & Liu, J.H.	2003	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 42, Issue 2, Page 187-198
4.	Rubin, M. & Hewstone, M.	2004	Political Psychology: Vol. 25, Issue 6, Page 823-844
5.	Tunçgenç, B.	2010	Journal of European Psychology Student: Vol. 2, Page 1-8
6.	Romm, N.	2013	Systemic Practice and Action Research: Vol. 26, Issue 2, Page 111-129
7.	Lee, I., dkk.	2011	Psychological Bulletin: Vol. 137, Issue 6, Page 1029-1064
8.	Ho, A.K., dkk.	2012	Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin: Vol. 38, Issue 5, Page 583-606
9.	Pratto, F., dkk.	2013	Journal of Social and Political Psychology: Vol. 1, Issue 1, Page 132-160
10.	Ho, A.K., dkk.	2015	Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Vol. 109, Issue 6, Page1003-1028
11.	Pratto, F.	2016	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 55, No. 1, Page 1-20
12.	Heering, M.S. & Leone, L.	2019	Psychological Reports: Vol. 122, Issue 1, Page 201-218
13.	Jetten, J. & Iyer, A.	2010	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 49, Issue 2, Page 385-404
14.	Soylu, S. & Sheehy-Skeffington, J.	2015	Human Relations: Vol. 68, Issue 7, Page 1099-1129
15.	Kaynak Malatyalı, M., dkk.	2017	Sex Roles: Vol. 77, Issue 9, Page 687-696

16.	Pehrson, S., dkk.	2017	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 56, Issue 1, Page 28-46
17.	Trounson, J.S., dkk.	2017	Social Behavior and Personality: Vol. 43, Issue 10, Page 1641-1655
18.	Hoyt, C.L., dkk.	2018	British Journal of Social Psychology: Vol. 57, Issue 2, Page 448-460
19.	Stewart, A.L. & Tran, J.	2018	Journal of Social Issues: Vol. 74, Issue 2, Page 299-316
20.	Nawir, M. & Mukramin, S.	2019	Phinisi Integration Review: Vol. 2, Issue 2, Page 348-354
21.	Istiqomah, dkk.	2021	Jurnal Psikologi Sosial: Vol. 19, Issue 03, Page 180-192

After obtaining scientific articles that are relevant to the purpose of this literature review, conclusions and synthesis are then carried out on the contents of these articles. Furthermore, a critical analysis and evaluation was conducted to answer the purpose of this literature review based on scientific results of these articles.

RESEARCH RESULTS

In this research results section, we will first describe the main premises of SDT to obtain an adequate picture of this theory. Next, we will identify what criticisms SDT has received through previous studies. Lastly, we will discuss the development of recent SDT studies that attempt to answer the criticisms and address the weaknesses of SDT.

Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory (SDT) begins with basic observation that the entire system of society is formed by a group-based social hierarchy that is universal. It means, there are groups that dominate other groups, which cause inequality between dominant groups and subordinate groups. This argument is also based on the evolutionary thought that humans, since primitive times, have been continuously competed. Therefore, establishing a system of hierarchy and dominance will provide an advantage for humans to survive in these situations. Group-based social hierarchy means that individuals receive social power and privileges according to their membership in a group. This hierarchy will continue to be maintained to reach the status quo. Intergroup oppression, discrimination, and prejudice are manifestations of efforts to maintain this social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

In SDT, what distinguishes the dominant and subordinate groups is the difference in power they have, namely the existence of asymmetric outcomes and differences in welfare of the two groups. Asymmetric outcome is a condition when the dominant groups disproportionately get more positive resources compare to subordinate groups, such as a strong role, as well as access to good healthcare and housing. Meanwhile, subordinate groups disproportionately get more negative resources, such as poor access to healthcare and housing (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). An example of asymmetric outcome is when a group of high-income people gets more freedom in developing themselves and honing their skills so that they have a higher level of creativity than the middle- and low-income groups (Fitriyanto & Sulandari, 2021). In Indonesia itself, individuals who have nobility will receive higher social status, more respect and appreciation than the general public (Sofia et al., 2019).

Differences in the quality and quantity of resources obtained by the dominant and subordinate groups lead to inequality in welfare between these groups. Meanwhile, the severity of group hierarchies and their inequalities can differ across societies and over time (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

According to SDT, there are 3 types of social stratification systems, namely 1) the age system, when adults and the elderly have greater social power than young people and children; 2) a gender system (patriarchy), when men have greater socio-political power than women; 3) arbitrary system, a social category constructed by society, such as race, ethnicity, social class, and religion. The determination of the dominant group and subordinate group in this arbitrary system is determined by the

internal culture of the community and can differ across societies (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

The explanation of how social hierarchies are formed and maintained is discussed using a multilevel analysis. There are 3 levels of analysis, that is 1) the individual level, 2) the intergroup level, and 3) the systemic level. All of the factors in this analysis mutually influence the social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012) (see picture 1).
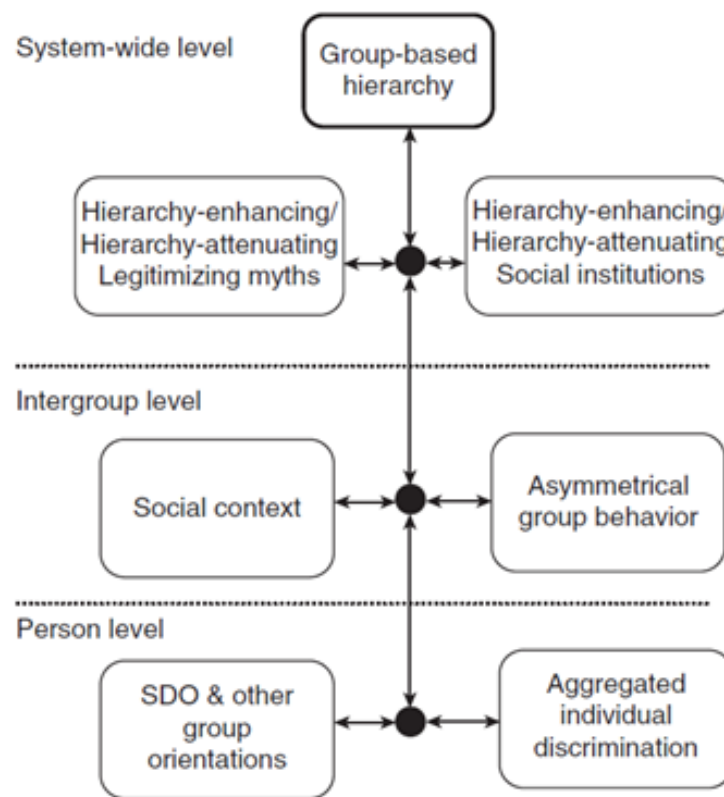
Picture 1. Dynamics of Social Domination Theori

First, at the individual level. Individual differences in the form of preference orientation on hierarchy and social inequality (social dominance orientation/SDO) can make this system survive. In addition, prejudice and social beliefs that contribute to acts of discrimination and oppression by individuals often have the same direction and accumulate, thus impacted to the

maintenance of the social hierarchical system (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Furthermore, at the group level, differences in context between groups in the form of differences in social power can lead to intergroup segregation, threats, and prejudice. In addition, there are behavioral asymmetry factors. Behavioral asymmetry is differences in behavior shown by members of the dominant and subordinate

groups, including 1) the dominant group tends to favor its in-group; 2) the subordinate group favors the dominant group over its in-group; 3) members of a subordinate group behave in a manner that is detrimental to their group (self-fulfilling prophecy for the stereotypes attached to their group); 4) the existence of an ideology that strengthens and legitimizes social hierarchies. Behavioral asymmetry shows that individuals can be more exalting other groups than their own group. This condition also shows that social inequality can be caused by the behavior of the subordinate group itself (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Third, at the system level. The actions of social institutions, including regulations and procedures issued by government, can either strengthen or weaken the social hierarchical system. Act of institutional discrimination can maintain the hierarchical system. In addition, the ideology adopted by a society can legitimize the social system applied to that society (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Regarding to ideological factors that can maintain social hierarchies, this idea originates from neo-classical elitism theory that explain the way to maintain hierarchy is to control social legitimacy, where the instrument is ideology. In SDT, this process is known as legitimizing myth (LM) which includes attitudes, values, beliefs, stereotypes, and ideologies that provide moral and intellectual justification for the existing social hierarchical system practices. Although objectively this ideology is not necessarily true or false. There are 2 types of LM, namely hierarchical-enhancing legitimizing myth (HE-LM), which supports social hierarchy and increasing group inequality; and the hierarchical-attenuating legitimizing myth (HA-LM), which opposes social hierarchy and supports group equality (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

To be able to work, LM must be collectively perceived and embedded in community members, also provide moral/religious/scientific certainty and truth (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Therefore, individual acceptance or rejection of this ideology is important for LM to work. In SDT, the factor of individual differences becomes important in the acceptance/rejection of LM, which is called social dominance orientation (SDO). SDO is the individual's desire for his group to dominate other groups. Individuals with high SDO will support the HE ideology, and individuals with low SDO will support the HA ideology (Pratto et al., 1994). SDO is influenced by several factors, including group status, gender, socialization, and individual temperament (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Pratto, et al. (1994) then made a study that proved that there were indeed individual differences of SDO in society. The study showed that male and individuals who have an HE ideology were shown to have a higher SDO. SDO was also positively related to racism, nationalism, sexism, and conservativeness. SDO also proved to be negatively related to communality, tolerance, altruism, noblesse obliges, attitudes towards women's rights, and environmental programs. Meanwhile, the most powerful SDT examination is to test how well ideology mediates SDO and attitudes towards inequality/equality practices (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Early Criticism of SDT

The emergence of SDT had received quite a lot of responses from social psychology researchers, including criticism towards the theory. The criticisms ranging from doubted the relevance and consistency of SDT's premises, up to attempt to compare SDT with other theories in its ability to explain group phenomena in society. Many of the early

critics focus on the theoretical concepts of SDT and SDO construct.

First, regarding the theoretical concept of SDT. The researchers criticized the evolutionary idea that was used as basis argument in developing group-based hierarchy premises specifically that dominance arises from long-lived human competition. But human social dynamics contain not only competition, but also cooperation which SDT did not explain about this phenomenon. SDT was also claimed to have insufficient empirical evidence for the premises that use evolution and historical idea as basis argument (Romm, 2013; Tunçgenç, 2010; Turner & Reynolds, 2003).

Furthermore, SDT was criticized for their universality claim of social hierarchy concept, but on the other hand they also introduced the concept of SDO and HE-HA dynamics, which both emphasize individuality and contextual differences. This showed that there were inconsistencies in the theory premises (Turner & Reynolds, 2003). Meanwhile, Rubin and Hewstone (2004) argued that SDT did not explain the existence of social change and how individuals with high SDO continued to fight against the status quo in extreme conditions. The concept of SDT was also said to only be able to explain how hierarchical systems were maintained and reproduced, but could not explain how a hierarchical system was originally formed in society (Tunçgenç, 2010), such as how one group can become dominant and another group becomes subordinate. This critique also questioned SDT's claim that it was the multilevel processes in social organization that produced social hierarchies.

Moreover, SDT also received criticism regarding the SDO construct. Turner and Reynolds (2003), also Wilson and Liu (2003) argued that SDO had an inconsistent definition. In Pratto, et al. (1994), SDO was described as an individual's desire for their group to dominate other groups. While in Sidanius and Pratto (1999), SDO described as an individual preference for the existence of social hierarchy and group inequality. The two definitions contained different meanings. The first definition emphasized the individual's urge so their ingroup to dominate others, while the second definition focused more on the individual's tendency to maintain the existing social hierarchy, regardless of whether their group is a dominant or subordinate group.

The SDO had also been criticized for measuring two different constructs: namely 'opposition to equality' and 'support for ingroup domination'. Meanwhile, SDO positioned itself as a unidimensional construct (Turner & Reynolds, 2003). Jost and Thompson (2000) found that the meaning of the two SDO constructs might vary depending on the status of individual's ingroup being assessed and what salient group the individual feels at the moment. This caused the SDO measurement results to be unreliable and more influenced by other variables (Turner & Reynolds, 2003).

Meanwhile, Schmitt, et al. (2003) provided evidence that SDO was the result of the prevailing social hierarchical system. This evidence criticized SDT's claim that SDO was a predictor of attitudes toward social hierarchies. The same study also proved that the SDO construct did not measure individual's general orientations and attitudes towards inequality, but it measured contextual individual tendencies, depending on the salient context being measured. Furthermore, another study criticized the invariance hypothesis of SDO on gender. Study had shown that gender differences in SDO were moderated by individual identification of gender and the social position of men and women in society. This study rejected SDT premises

that men will always have a higher SDO than women, as well as questioned why gender classification was not included in the arbitrary system classification (Wilson & Liu, 2003).

Responses to SDT's Early Criticism

Responding to these criticisms, SDT researchers had tried to carry out various studies and theoretical reviews to answer the critics. Pratto, et al. (2013) responded to criticism on SDT's weaknesses in explaining social change. Pratto et al. argued that SDT had never denied the existence of social change. Rapid social change could accur under certain conditions, that is 1) when individual needs could not be fulfilled through the existing hierarchical system, individuals could seek destabilization such as the emergence of criminal groups and illegal trade; 2) when there were inconsistent ideologies, ideological conflicts and fact that current ideology adopted was not in accordance with realities, thus made people questioned this ideology; 3) exposed to other ideologies that made individuals have ideological alternatives; 4) changes at the institutional level that were contrary to the ideology adopted (Pratto et al., 2013).

Meanwhile, a meta-analysis study of SDT and SDO revealed that women and subordinate groups in arbitrary systems tend to reject the social hierarchical system. In addition, the difference in SDO by gender was shown to be larger and more stable than the difference in SDO in the arbitrary group. The results of this meta-analysis could strengthen the invariance hypothesis of SDO on gender (Lee et al., 2011).

Ho, et al. (2012) tried to revise the conceptual theory of SDO. When the first SDO$_5$ scale was introduced, this construct was unidimensional. Then criticism emerged on SDO$_6$ that this construct said to be measuring 2 different things. Ho, et al. (2012) then introduced 2 dimensions of

SDO, namely SDO-Dominance (SDO-D) and SDO-Egalitarianism (SDO-E). SDO-D defined as support for group-based dominance hierarchies, which dominant groups aggressively oppress subordinate groups. While SDO-E was the resistance to group-based equality. SDO-D was associated with aggressive behavior and intergroup competition, as well as support for overtly negative attitudes and negative resource allocation towards outgroups. SDO-E dealt with symbolic racism, and subtly support for social hierarchies. Later on, Ho, et al. (2015) developed a more suitable definition of SDO-D as an orientation towards group-based domination and inequality, regardless of the position of individual groups in society.

Other SDT follow-up studies provided empirical support for this theory. Heering and Leone (2019) showed that power moderates the relationship between SDO and sentencing decisions. This study proved that power was an important factor in the relationship between SDO and social behavior. Regarding power, Pratto (2016) provided an alternative definition of power using ecological and non-social approaches, and saw power as empowerment. In this sense, power was a condition in which individuals were able to fulfill their needs. This capability was a combined function of individual capabilities and the affordability of local ecological also resource factors.

Although SDT received quite a lot of criticism and doubts during its development, but it did not stop psychological researchers from using SDT in explaining social phenomena. Especially in the last 10 years, the application of SDT was not only used to explain group behavior but had expanded to other areas of social behavior. For example, Stewart and Tran (2018) who revealed that the SDT model was more suitable in explaining the phenomenon of collective action. This study showed that SDO had an indirect

influence on collective action which was transmitted through racism, anger, and efficacy. These results showed that the decision to engage in mass action was influenced by ideology and belief in equality and social justice (Stewart & Tran, 2018). Meanwhile, SDT was also used to explain political behavior, that SDO could moderate the relationship between perceived social class and changes in political attitudes. This study also stated that SDO construct which was sensitive to group dynamics was best for explaining shifts in political attitudes (Jetten & Iyer, 2010).

The studies in other domains showed that individuals with high SDO were more likely to dehumanize asylum seekers, and dehumanization could predict attitudes towards asylum seekers (Trounson et al., 2015). Meanwhile, organizational studies showed that workplace bullying occured as an effort to maintain the dominance of one employees group over other subordinate employees group (Soylu & Sheehy-Skeffington, 2015). Furthermore, studies in communication found that efforts to change individuals' mindsets through message delivery would be more difficult for individuals with high SDO, since these individuals have persistent beliefs, in contrast to individuals with low SDO whose mindset manipulation was more effective (Hoyt et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, SDT studies in Indonesia had been widely applied to determine group behavior, mainly related to ethnicity and religion. Istiqomah, et al. (2021) examined the mediating role of Islamic totalism ideology on the relationship between SDO and conservative political attitudes. The results showed that there was a full mediation of Islamic totalism on the relationship between the two variables. This means that the Indonesian people still based their political attitudes on their religious ideology. Meanwhile, Nawir and

Mukramin (2019) found that people tend to use their ethnic identity in political behavior, such as when they tried to gain political power.

The research methods used in recent SDT studies had generally not changed much since SDT's early development. The majority of SDT studies used the SDO construct to test their analytical models and had followed the testing model of the initial SDO research. They tested the ability of LM to mediate the relationship between SDO and variables that affect inequality (e.g. Kaynak Malatyalı et al., 2017). Meanwhile, another study tried to create a model in which SDO acted as a mediator or moderator between 2 constructs that were related to social hierarchy and inequality (e.g. Pehrson et al., 2017).

DISCUSSION

In this discussion section, we will first analysis whether the latest SDT studies have succeeded to address all the criticisms and weaknesses previously directed at SDT. Then, we will explore which SDT areas that have not solved the criticism thus leaved it as existing weaknesses. Furthermore, it will also discuss SDT's points of strength and potential that have made this theory survive and even more develop to this day. Finally, some suggestions for further studies that can be carried out by SDT researchers and other social researchers will be reviewed.

SDT Weaknesses that have not been Solved

From above review on the results of SDT's recent studies, SDT researchers have made efforts to develop SDT and rectify the weaknesses of this theory. SDT has succeeded in providing confirmation and in-depth explanation of social changes in the dynamics of group-based social hierarchical systems (Pratto et al., 2013). This

explanation is sufficient to answer Rubin and Hewstone's (2004) doubt that SDT did not recognize social change. Explanation from Pratto, et al. (2013) at the same time provides a framework for what kind of social change can be explained by SDT.

SDT researchers are also responsive to develop SDO constructs and measurements (Ho et al., 2012, 2015), which the latest SDO review further clarifies the position and structure of SDO construct. Nevertheless, the explanation of SDO still needs to be improved which will be explained further in the next paragraph.

Although SDT has improved in many ways and increased its ability to explain group phenomena, there are still some aspects that have not found its satisfactorily answer regarding several criticisms towards SDT. The following are some aspects of SDT that still need improvement, as well as being our criticism towards current SDT.

First, regarding the criticism of Turner and Reynolds (2003) that there were inconsistencies in SDT's claim on universality of group-based social hierarchy concept. However, at the same time SDT also introduced the concept of SDO and the dynamics of HE-HA which were manifestation of individual and contextual variants. To date, there have been no theoretical studies or reviews that attempted to answer this critique. So, it is still a question of how SDT's position on the claim of universality of group-based social hierarchy is.

Next, on the criticism that questioned separation of gender groups from arbitrary groups. In fact the position of men over women was not universal, there were some cultures that actually place women above men (Wilson & Liu, 2003). This critique tried to be answered with a meta-analysis study which stated that the differences of SDO on gender was proven to be more stable and wider than the differences in arbitrary

groups (Lee et al., 2011). However, this results alone are not sufficient to answer why gender groups are separated from arbitrary groups. The results only strengthen the SDO differences in gender if compared to arbitrary groups, but do not form basis evidence that the formation of gender and arbitrary groups is a different process (SDT used evolutionary approach to argue on gender group formation, while using social construction idea as basis argument for arbitrary groups formation).

The next is related to SDO construct. SDO construct stated that if other variables were considered equal, the dominant group would have a higher SDO than the subordinate group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This concept contradicts with the latest SDO-D definition that defined as an orientation towards group-based domination and inequality, regardless of the position of individual groups in society (Ho et al., 2015). These two concepts are contradictory, which the first concept emphasized that difference in SDO could be depended on hierarchical position of individual's group, while the second concept removed the group position variable in the SDO definition. Meanwhile in Ho, et al. (2015), it was not explained whether the claims related to SDO in Sidanius and Pratto (1999) were no longer relevant.

Furthermore, there is lack of studies that examining SDT's age stratification groups (at least we could not find the related studies). In its development, SDT studies mostly tested SDO in gender and arbitrary groups stratification (Fraser et al., 2015; Pehrson et al., 2017). This causes the concept of SDT in age stratification groups cannot be proven empirically.

In addition, SDT also has weaknesses in the development of research methods. SDT was a theory that generally discussed behavior at the intergroup level, although in its discussion SDT used a multilevel

analysis approach (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). However, this multilevel analysis approach is not reflected in the research method paradigm that were used by SDT's researchers. SDT examination was mainly measured through the SDO construct which was a construct of individual difference level. Meanwhile, research methods at other levels of analysis, such as intergroup level and system level, have not been carried out, or this kind of methods have not been developed by SDT researchers. As a balance, SDT did try to accommodate the determinants of social hierchy from several levels of analysis in its measurement model, namely LM (at the system level) as a mediation of the SDO relationship (at the intrapersonal level) and attitudes towards inequality (at the intrapersonal level). However, the data collection method that were conducted still explore individual experiences, such as LM as measured by the level of racism, sexism, and so on (e.g. Kaynak Malatyalı et al., 2017; Pehrson et al., 2017).

Majority of data collecting method that used in SDT studies were also using SDO scale in the form of self-report. In the SDT experimental study, the SDO variable was not used as a manipulating variable. Yet, other variables that were manipulated and become mediators/moderators (Heering & Leone, 2019; Milfont & Sibley, 2014). This condition causes SDO studies to be unable to provide causal conclusions that can strengthen the SDT model.

What Makes SDT Survived?

Given that SDT still has several unsolved weaknesses, then is this theory still relevant to explain current social phenomena? What are makes SDT still used in recent social psychology research? If you refer to recent studies, at least in the last 10 years, there are quite a number of studies that apply this theory to explain phenomena in various fields, such as

politics, public policy, environmental issues, organizational behavior, and persuasive communication (e.g. Brunarska, 2019; Guimond et al., 2013; Hoyt et al., 2018; Milfont et al., 2013; Milojev et al., 2014; Soylu & Sheehy-Skeffington, 2015). The wide use of SDT, especially the SDO construct in explaining social phenomena, shows that this psychological construct is quite applicable and has been shown to influence individual behavior in society. SDO is able to explain social behavior other than intergroup conflict, such as in explaining workplace bullying (Soylu & Sheehy-Skeffington, 2015) and political attitudes (Jetten & Iyer, 2010).

SDT which emphasizes the concept of group domination, group-based social hierarchy, and the existence of power inequality between groups in explaining social behavior (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012), is a unique concept that offers a different point of view in explaining social phenomena that is not discussed in other theories. The uniqueness and originality in viewing group phenomena from different perspectives is assumed to be factors that make SDT still used in social behavior scientific discussion.

In addition, SDT's claim that the hierarchical system and social dominance in society are ubiquitous (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012), is also relevant to intergroup conflict cases that are still happening today, such as the case of George Floyd and the case of Papuan students which previously has been shown. Several studies in various countries with different cultural backgrounds also prove that inequality and social dominance occur not only in America, where SDT first developed (Ajibade Adisa et al., 2021; Metin-Orta, 2021).

Furthermore, the idea that people live in a group-based hierarchical system that constantly strive to maintain (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012), but on the other hand SDT

also recognizes social changes that can occur under certain conditions (Pratto et al., 2013), is enabling SDT to capture the ubiquitous phenomenon of social hierarchy and domination, and at the same time capture the dynamic nature of society.

Moreover, SDT also offers a conceptual explanation that discuss intergroup behavior from 3 levels of analysis, i.e. individual level, group level, and system level (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012), although the research methodology of the three levels of analysis still need to be developed. This multilevel analysis enables SDT to see a group phenomenon from a broader and more comprehensive perspective and fulfills the assumption that social phenomenon is not caused by single factor, but multifactor. This is also in accordance with SDT's claim that this theory tries to relate the reality of individual personality and attitudes at the domain of institutional behavior and social structure (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Those points above are the strengths and potential of SDT. Apparently, SDT will continue to be a relevant theory in the intergroup behavior discussion if we look at the broad implications and social phenomena that SDT is able to capture, especially those related to social hierarchies, discrimination, and inequality. Certainly, SDT researchers still need to overcome the weaknesses of SDT so that this theory has a stronger explanation power.

Several follow-up studies ideas can be used as the future focus for developing SDT, including study on SDT's age classification group, developing research methods that representing multilevel analysis of SDT, conducting research using experimental methods, and cross-cultural studies on SDT considering the level of hierarchy and inequality can be different across societies.

In addition, Pratto, et al. (2006) also suggested several further study ideas, including combining studies on differences in SDO on gender and arbitrary groups, studies on how ideology can be channeled, power relations between various groups, and how dynamics outside of society can affect the internal political dynamics of society.

Finally, SDT needs to put a limit or framework on the claim to the universality of social hierarchy. So there is no longer any overlap between universal explanations of social hierarchy and contextual dependent explanation of HE-HA, which also affects the existence of social hierarchies.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the 3 decades of SDT's existence, this theory has undergone many dynamic developments. The development of SDT theory cannot be separated from various criticisms as well as pro-contra arguments on the theory conceptual. SDT researchers themselves continuously attempted to conduct various studies to develop theories as well as address all criticisms towards SDT. From this scientific journey of SDT, it turns out that SDT still has various weaknesses that have not been solved until now. Some of those weaknesses that still exist in SDT including inconsistency in universality concept of social hierarchy, the need to improve SDO concept to make it more mature, and lack of empirical evidence on social stratification concept that proposed by SDT. SDT also has weaknesses in their research methodology, such as inadequate research method that represent multilevel analysis and the lack of experimental research in SDT's studies.

Even though SDT still has various weaknesses, it must be acknowledged that SDT has great strengths and potentials that have made it survive to this day. The explanation of group-based social hierarchies and the existence of ubiquitous

power inequality yet does not eliminate the essence of social change in society are a unique concept and quite relevant to describe the phenomenon of inter-group conflict that is currently occurring in society. In addition, multilevel analysis in SDT makes this theory able to see social phenomena more comprehensively and broadly. From this description, it can be said that the future of SDT is still long and will remain relevant in current social phenomena discussion, if SDT researchers continue to develop this theory so that the remaining weaknesses can be resolved.

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